

*William: Purfe 6<sup>d</sup>*

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F R I E N D,

Giving an Account how the

Treaty of Union

Has been Received here.

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Wherein are contained, Answers to the most material Objections against it, with some Remarks upon what has been written by Mr. *H.* and Mr. *R.*

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E D I N B U R G H,

Printed in the Year M. DCC. VI.

S I R,

**B**Ecause you are desirous to know, how the Treaty of Union was received here; and have sent me some of these Objections, you call the most material against it, I shall endeavour to satisfy you, as briefly as possibly I can.

The Treaty with the Minutes relating thereto, was laid before our Parliament at its first sitting down; and never did any thing, that came to be Voted in the House, meet with a more favourable Reception; the Question of *Proceeding upon it*, being carried by a very great Majority, which I hope, seems to foretell its Successful Event.

I would not have you conclude by this Vote that passed in the House, That there are any against an *Union* between the Two Kingdoms: For all are agreed, That nothing will be of more general Advantage to us; but the Division that was amongst the Members about the Nature of such an Union, gave Occasion to the Vote. However I must averr, That there never were less Appearances of Party amongst them than at present; so that I doubt not, but from their wise and prudent Deliberations, the Nation will receive Satisfaction. In the mean time, we must all wait with Patience and Submission for the Event; since the Parliament must be considered as the *Sacred Oracle of Heaven*, in all Civil Matters, but especially in this weighty and important Affair.

But I leave the Parliament to give you an Account, How the Treaty has been received in this City; and from what I am to tell you, I make no doubt, but you will conclude, That never did wilful Ignorance, Contradictions and Inconsistencies, triumph in our Streets at such an extravagant Rate;

as at this time, by reason of the Mistakes and Misrepresentations, that have been made about it.— Some are against an *Incorporating Union*, because they do not, nor will not understand it, and are for a *Federal Union*, because it is not to be understood; nor are there any, that can propose a tolerable Scheme about it, with respect to *Scotland* and *England* in their present Circumstances. All have a general Notion of such a thing; but how to apply it, is the Difficulty.

But suppose it practicable, yet it is more than probable, that *England* will never agree to it, the *English* Commissioners having in Summer last given a very flat Denial to it. And if we will take the Pains to look 100 Years back, we shall find, That the Parliament of *Scotland* agreed to a *Federal Union*, when the *English* rejected it; tho the *Scots* were satisfied, That many things of the Product of *Scotland* should not be carried into *England*, such as their *Black-Cattel*, &c. For the Parliament of *England* was of Opinion, That tho their Country should not be burdened with the Product of *Scotland*; yet no solid Peace cou'd be bottomed upon such National Divisions and Distinctions; but that if ever they entered into an Union with *Scotland*, it should be upon such a Condition chiefly, whereby both Nations should be under the same Government and Legislative Power.

About the Year 1668, there was a Treaty of Commerce proposed with *England*, which was rejected. And in 1670, the most part of our Commissioners were for a *Federal Union*, which likewise could not be obtained. So that from these Instances you may easily judge, what we are like to get, if we refuse the Union which is offered; but towards the end of this Letter I shall speak a little more on this Subject.

Some here exclaim against the Government, we have had in *Scotland* these 100 Years bygone to this purpose, That tho we pretend, our Nation is a Sovereign, Free, and Independent

dent Kingdom ; yet all our Parliaments and Councils have entirely been acted by *English* Influence, and we subjected to their Wills in every thing, that seemed for the Interest of *England*.

Whether this Accusation be generally true or false, I shall not examine ; but sure I am, these People seem to be inconsistent with themselves, when with the same Breath they run down the Treaty, which must certainly give a Remedy to what they complain of.

Here you may find several Persons exalting an Union of Confederacy, and at the same time exclaiming against that Article of the Treaty concerning equal Duties, Customs and Excises in both Kingdoms ; as if there could be an Union of Confederacy and a Communication with the *English* in their Trade, without equal Burdens.

Some extol *England* for a wise Nation, and yet at the same time are arguing, That a Communication of Trade might be granted to us without these Burdens ; as if the *English* wou'd make themselves notoriously remarkable for Folly and Stupidity. Since it is plain, that in this Case they might give over Trading, when underfold by us, and such of themselves, and *Hollanders*, who on the account of these Advantages would live amongst us.

Others pretend, they know the Sentiments of *Scotland* about the Succession, and assert, *That we cannot set up for a separate King ; that none but a Protestant will succeed to our Crown ; and that upon the lamentable event of the Queen's Death, the greatest Part of us will run in to the English Successor as the only way to secure Peace ;* and yet these People immediately after talk, *That the English will give us any Terms :* As if such a wise Nation (as they confess *England* is) was not acquainted with the Divisions, Animosities, Circumstances, and Inclinations of their nearest Neighbours.

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Some extol the Alteration of our Fundamental Laws in King *Charles* the 2<sup>d</sup>'s first Parliament; and others approve very justly the turning out of *the Bishops, the third Estate of Parliament* at the late Revolution; and yet both Exclaim against altering Fundamental Laws, and wou'd fain insinuate, That in the Treaty, there's a total Subversion of all the Glorious Structure our Predecessors have built.

Others quarrel, amongst other things, at the Charges the Nation will be put to, in sending up 16 Peers, and 45 Commons, to the Parliament of *Great-Britain*: And at the same time, both in Words and Writings, they cry out against that number, as a small dishonourable Representation.

Some are regretting the extream Poverty of the Nation, and Scarcity of Money, yet notwithstanding they exclaim against the Union, as a thing that will ruin us; not considering, that our case is such, that 'tis scarce conceivable, how any condition of Life, we can fall into, can render us more Miserable and Poor, than we are. For its very well known, that many of us live with Difficulty, and many Thousands of our nearest Relations, are obliged to leave their Country, for want of Bread and Employment.

Some are running down *English* Pactions, Promises and Performances; and yet maliciously insinuating, That the Commissioners in the Treaty, and such Members of Parliament, as incline to the Union, are to get Mighty Things. As if these Noblemen and Gentlemen, wou'd put a present small Advantage, or a bare Promise, in the Ballance with any thing, that they thought wou'd bring Destruction upon the Nation, and Ruine upon their Posterity. For with all respect to others, be it spoken, these have considerable Stakes to hazard upon the bad Success of an Union.

Some are earnestly wishing a sudden Revolution, Success to the Affairs of *France*, and Confusion to the Presbyterian

Government; But no sooner they fall a speaking of the Union, but they regret the Danger of our Church Government, as having no Security; and cry for Fasting and Praying, that God may protect his Church, and Defend his People. By which they give the greatest evidence of Atheism and Profaninity, that Hell it self can Suggest.

In a corner of the Street, one may see a *Presbyterian Minister*, a *Popish Priest*, and an *Episcopal Prelate*, all agreeing together in their discourse against the Union; but upon quite different Views and contradictory Reasons. The *Minister*, because he fears, the Presbyterian Church Government will be ruined, and so great encouragements will be given to Popery and Prelacy. The *Priest*, because his Darling Hopes will be disappointed, by the settling the Succession in the Protestant Line. And the *Prelate*, because he knows, the Parliament will make such a Security for the Presbyterian Church Government, as that it cannot be altered in *Scotland*, without saping the Foundation of the Union, and shaking the whole Fabrick of the *British* Constitution.

But mark here, That tho I bring in a Presbyterian Minister amongst such Company, yet, I would have you to know, that many of them have a very favourable Opinion of the Union; and I doubt not, but the Parliament will answer their Expectations as to the Securities, they desire for the Church Government.

Here you might likewise see, the *Dutch* and the *French* endeavouring to whiddle us out of our Senses, by the plausible Popular Topics of *Liberty, Property, Sovereignty and Independence*. The *Dutch*, because they run a great Risque of being Wormed out of their Herring-Fishing, that most valuable Branch of their Trade. The *French*, because of that vast Increase of Power, that will accresce to *Britain*, when United; whereby it will ( with more Justice, than now when divid-  
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ed ) be called the Bulwark of the Liberties of Europe, and Terror of the World. But I shall make the Grounds of their just Fears appear a little more plainly, when I fall to speak of the Herring Fishing.

Having given you these few Remarks, I shall proceed to Answer your Objections and Difficulties against the Treaty, in the same order you have sent them.

Your first Objection, is, *Upon the danger of the Church Government after an Union.* As to which, I have already given you some hints, and I add further, That this Project of the Union is not hatched by your Enemies; but by your entire Friends. In the next place, such a Security, if not greater, can be given in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, as the Church Government hath at this time. For by the bye, you mistake its Security entirely, if you think, it is founded on our *Claim of Right*, in its full Extent, with respect to its Ecclesiastick Judicatures. For tho' by the Article of the *Claim of Right*, Episcopacy and any Superiority above Presbyters, is declared a Grievance, yet the Government of the Church by General Assemblies, Synods and Presbyteries, is only established by subsequent Acts of Parliament, for no Article in the *Claim of Right*, can hinder a Parliament: our from reducing Presbyters to what they are in *Holland*, nor exclude a Toleration to Episcopal Ministers, in a most extensive Sense. And besides, such Parliaments, we may have, ( which God forbid ) that may overturn our *Claim of Right*. If this be the Case, Where hath the Presbyterian Government a greater Security, than it can have by an Act of the Parliament of *Great Britain* and a Fundamental Article of the Union? If it is secure in the Inclinations of the People, it will be more so, when joined with the powerful Interest of the Whig-Party in *England*, who to Balance the Incroachments of the *High-Flyers*, must and will support it. The Presbyterians have several times ventured  
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their Lives, and Estates, for their Principles: What then should move any to attempt an Alteration in our Church Government after the Union, since what I have mentioned, will render it so difficult; especially when we shall lie at a greater distance from the Seat of Government?

Upon the whole Matter, I think there's no need for such Fears, since thereby we seem to distrust the Providence of God, and bewray a Diffidence in that Character of Excellency, we give to our Church. For if it be the True Church, it may indeed be under an Eclipse for a while, but its Light can never be extinguished, as some would have us to believe, if so be we are so blind as not to discern our Friends from our Enemies:

Your 2d. Objection, is upon the imaginary Discredit we undergo, in ceasing to be an Ancient Sovereign Kingdom.

The Objection is very popular; for Sovereignty and Antiquity, are words that sound very high, and receive a great Value from the Generality of Mankind. We have the Honour indeed to pretend to *Chastity*, (as some call it) having never been Conquered; but this should serve only to entice us to imitate the Conduct of a chaste Virgin, who, because she fears her own Weakness, and want of Resolution to continue long in that Condition, prudently enters into Wedlock; by which sort of Union, she acquires indeed the Name of being one Flesh with her Husband, yet at the same time, she remains that very numerical Honourable Person that she was before.

If one should offer this Advice to a poor *Spanish Don*, that he knew of a honourable Employment for him to follow, which tho it should chance to miss of making him prodigiously rich, yet it wou'd afford a plentiful Livelyhood to him and his Posterity, if so be he would lay aside his Idleness, strutting Deportment, and grand Paw, accompanied with mighty Boasts of his Noble Blood, and splendid Titles; I make no doubt,



but the *Don* would be ready to cut his Adviser's Throat, for offering such an Indignity to his Person and Family, tho all the World besides, ( every thing considered ) wou'd look upon it as a very friendly and reasonable Counsel.

I leave you to apply these Similes; and if they do not appear so serious as the Dignity of this Subject wou'd seem to require, you will at least allow, that they contain an Answer much of a piece with the Objection.

But if there be any thing of moment in our Sovereignty and Antiquity, I believe you'll think, that neither of them are lost in an *Incorporating Union* with *England*, if so be you will agree with the Learned *Grotius*, *de jur: belli & pacis. lib: 2: cap: 9. § 9.* which take in his own words,

*Quod si quando uniantur duo Populi non amittentur jura sed communicabuntur, sicut Sabinorum, deinde Albanorum jus in Romanos transfusum est, & una facta respublica, ut Livius loquitur. Idemque censendum de Regnis quæ non fœdere, aut eo duntaxat quod regem communem habeant sed vera unitate junguntur.*

This is so plain, that it needs no Commentar, and we have reason to think, that tho the old *Sabini* and *Albani* Incorporated with the *Romans*, yet their Posterity were no less Remarkable for Honour and Antiquity, than they were before; tho they cou'd not act any more in a separate way from the Nation they had united with.

Your 3d. Objection is upon the Loss of our Parliaments; which leads me again in, to consider a *Federal Union*, with respect to two Schemes I have heard of it.

The *First*, is that wherein there may be a Continuation of the Parliaments in both Kingdoms, instructed with the same Powers they have at this time.

From this sort of Union, there will arise an Equality of all Taxes, Duties, Customs and Excises, since a Communication of Trade will necessarily infer these on both Kingdoms, and  
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from thence will follow this natural Consequence, That this Union can never be lasting, unless the Parliament of *Scotland* follow the Footsteps of the Parliament of *England*, in every Particular relating to Publick Affairs; and tho we should suppose each Parliament to have a Negative, yet that will signifie as little to *Scotland*, as it does to the seven *United-Provinces*; for it is very well known, that the Province of *Holland* influences all the other six at its pleasure, because it pays more than a Half of all the publick Taxes and Burdens: So we in *Scotland* may much more expect the same, when *England* pays near 40 times more than we.

The *Second Sort of Federal Union* is, That both Kingdoms retain their Parliaments, but that all things relating to publick Laws, Taxes, Trade, Peace and War, Leagues and Alliances, should be lodged in the hands of Her Majesty and Her Successors, assisted by the Advice and Consent of a certain Number of Persons, to be equally chosen out of both Kingdoms, under the Name of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, or any other we shall think fit.

By this *Federal Union*, you see all the Powers taken from the Parliaments in *Scotland* and *England*, except these of taking care of the Established Church Government, Laws relative to private Rights and Appeals; for besides these they will have none, if it be not to be so far subservient to the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, as to see its Laws and Acts put in execution.

If you think, that a 3d. Scheme may be made up of both these, *viz.* That both Parliaments should retain their present Powers, but that a common Representation should be chosen out of both Kingdoms, to determine in Differences that may happen between the Parliaments. You will run into a thousand Difficulties about the Management of that Pro-

ject ; which you will easily discover, if you descend into all the Particulars of their several Powers.

Now if any of these Schemes please you, let me ask you two Questions.

1<sup>st</sup>. What Security will the Church Government have in our own Parliaments, when the Administration of publick Affairs comes to be taken out of our hands, and that *Bishops* can then be but useless Tools, tho they were sitting in our Parliaments, since they were not to give Votes for burdening us with Cess and other Duties, nor consent for exalting the Prerogative, and diminishing the Liberties of the Subjects ? For its plain by the first Scheme, that our Parliaments must follow the Measures of that in *England*, and by the 2<sup>d</sup>. Scheme, the least shadow of Administration in publick Business comes to be taken away, and devolved upon the common Representation of *Great-Britain*.

2<sup>dly</sup>. How can we expect, that ever *England* will agree to any of these *Federal Unions* ? Since by the first, its a thousand to one, but the Parliaments divide and bring the two Nations into confusion ; for the contrary cannot be supposed, unless at the same time we agree, that our Parliament shall follow, whatever Measures the Parliament of *England* shall take ; which will be more dishonourable for us, than any thing can be pretended in an *Incorporating Union*.

And the second Scheme of this *Federal Union* has this insuperable Difficulty, that the 513 Commoners, who now compose the House of Commons in *England*, will never be brought without open Force, to quite with the Administration of publick Affairs, and have their Powers devolved upon any Parliament or Legislative Power above them.

If you consider the Difficulties in these Questions, and many others that will easily occur, you may soon determine your self, as to what sort of Union will be most for the Ho-

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nour of *Scotland*, and the Interest of the whole Island of *Great-Britain*.

There is indeed less difficulty about continuing our Parliaments to change any thing necessary in the Laws relating to private Rights, and to determine in Appeals; but every body may see, even in that Case, that our Parliament must be subject to the Parliament of *Great-Britain*; and in the next place, when publick Business is taken out of our hands, the Members of such a Parliament will not think it worth while to Meet; neither can any Penalties put upon them who will not meet, signify any thing, since the Executive Power will be lodged in Her Majesty and Her Successors, who possibly will take care they should meet very seldom, to avoid giving any Occasion of Differences that may happen between our Parliament and that of *Great-Britain*, upon imaginary Abuses, Encroachments, and Violations of the Articles of the Treaty.

Your Fourth Objection is, That the Treaty impinges upon our Ancient Laws, Fundamental Constitutions, and particularly the *Claim of Right*.

No body can expect, That our Laws will meet with a better Fate than the *Scriptures*, which are ordinarily wrested into a hundred different senses, to support as many various Opinions. I know the strength of the Objection lyes, against taking away of our Parliament, and devolving its Power upon a Parliament of *Great Britain*; and I yield, that the endeavouring to take away any of the Three Estates is Treason by our Law; but I challenge any Man to show me a Law against diminishing the number of the Representatives that compose each State; or any Act against adding the Three Estates so diminished in their numbers, to the Parliament of *England*, and so to compose the Parliament of *Great Britain*: For as there's no Law against encreasing the Numbers of each State,

State, so there's none against diminishing them; nor any hinderance, why the Number of the Peers that Sit in Parliament may not be reduced to 16; and the Barons and Burrows to 45. And as for joining our Parliament to that of *England*, it seems consonant to the very Opinion of these Learned Lawyers, whose Sentiments have so industriously been handed about some Weeks ago, to the Conviction of none, but these who were as much byassed as we may suppose the Advocates of Kings to be, when their Sovereign's great Maxim of State runs upon the old Rule, *Divide & impera.*

By which they must endeavour to keep Kingdoms separate, for attaining to the finishing Stroke of Empire; I mean Arbitrary and Despotick Power; whereby they make one Nation rub upon another; till they crumble both into Dust.

Your 5<sup>th</sup>. Objection is, That our Representation will be so small in the House of Commons of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, that the *English* may Out-vote us, to the discouragement of every thing that is the Product of this Kingdom, as of our *Linnen, Black-Cattel, and Herring-Fishings.*

This is founded upon a bare Supposition without the least shadow of a Probability; and tho we had some Grounds for these Jealousies, yet greater Probabilities on the other side must alwise ballance our Determinations.

Allow me to make but one Supposition, that is, That the ancient Rules of Representing in the *English* Parliament were laid aside, in order to deliberate upon new ones; I suppose these of the Shire of *Middlesex*, wherein are contained the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, might justly pretend to a greater Number than *Cornwal* now represented by 44, because of bearing a much greater Proportion of the publick Burdens of *England*; and yet it is not probable, that such a Reason wou'd obtain, since *England* suffers very little by these unequal Representations in the Parliament.

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The same Parity of Reason will hold in the Constitution of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*; for the Shire of *Middlesex* will have far greater reason to Complain than *Scotland*, since it contains near as many Inhabitants, is vastly Richer, and will pay at least ten times more of the publick Burdens of *Great-Britain*, and yet in the Parliament it will be Represented only by 8; whereas *Scotland* will be represented by 45.

But suppose the whole Parliament of *Scotland* was assumed in its full Members, yet our Barons and Burrows wou'd make up little more than a Fourth part of the House of Commons of *Great-Britain*; so that you see, let us put our Representation in what shape we please, yet if *England* will violate the sacred Ties of an *Union*, and join to oppress us, it will be impossible to prevent it; but this last is no more to be supposed, than that the *English* will ruine and destroy themselves, by the Factions and Divisions that must inevitably happen upon a Breach between the Two Nations.

The Case being, that we cannot signifie much tho the Parliaments were joined in their full Numbers, I cannot see why we should desire it, since it is certain, that our Representatives wou'd carry at least One hundred thousand Pounds sterling yearly out of the Kingdom, besides giving great Discouragements in our Manufactures and Inland Consumpt by their absence, which by no means cou'd be ballanced with any Advantages we cou'd reap, by our full Representation; and for that very Reason I am afraid, that we have already too many, and am of Opinion, that the more we are discouraged from coming up to Court, the greater Advantage will redound to *Scotland*.

As for your Fears of discouraging our Linen Manufactures, Black-Cattel, and Herring Fishings, I know they are occasioned by some of our late *Authors*, who pretend, that there may be some interfering Interests on the part of *England*, to  
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discourage these Branches of our Product, as that the Matters of the Woollen Manufactures will endeavour to bring in the Custom amongst us of burying in Woollen, to the discouragement of our Linen; and that the Breeders of Black-Cattel in *England*, will endeavour to discourage the importing of ours, and that these concerned in the Pitchard Herring Fishings, will oppose the setting up of Fishings for white Herrings in this Kingdom.

As to the first I am of Opinion, That tho the Custom of burying in Woollen were introduced amongst us, it wou'd rather tend to our Advantage than to our Loss; for by the *Union* there will be a Foreign Mercat opened up to us in the *West-Indies*, which will take off a great deal more Linen than we now bestow on the Dead; so that our Linen Manufactures can suffer no prejudice: And the Burying in Woollen will go a great length to consume the superfluous Wool in the Kingdom; for after the *Union*, it will be much better to Export the Linen which we now bury under Ground, than let our Wool rote, because it can neither be Manufactured nor Exported.

That Supposition about the Discouragement of our Black-Cattel, proceeds ( I believe ) from a Mistake in point of Fact; for it has not been out of Kindness to this Nation, nor from any liking to *Scots* Beef, that the *English* have hitherto taken of our Black-Cattel; but the true Reason was for the Improvement of their Grounds, since our Cattel thrive and grow fat upon the Refuse of their Grass, which neither these of *England* or *Ireland* will taste; so that upon this head, there never can be any interfering.

As for the Discouragement of our Herring Fisheries for encouraging their *Pilchards*, there's far less probability; for it is not what the *English* pleases to Encourage or Discourage, that will be the Rule of Choice in Foreign Mercats, there being no comparison between these two Sorts of Herrings; so that there

there will be alwise greater Demands for ours, and consequently not the least shadow of Reason, to discourage a *Scotts* Product of that nature, which will tend more to the enriching the *Island of Britain*, than all the *East and West India Plantations*.

Your 6th Objection is, That the Union will occasion great Devastations in *Scotland*, and particularly in *Edinburgh*; for that great Numbers of our Nobility and Gentry will reside in *England*, which will occasion the sinking of our Rents both in City and Country, and tend to the Discouragement of Tradesmen and Labourers.

This I confess is a heavy Charge against an *Union*; but if things be narrowly considered, the contrary will with greater probability appear; for if an *Union* bring us Trade and Business, which I have many Reasons to believe, then there must certainly follow a proportionable increase of our Inhabitants.

For instance, if Shipping increase in the *Firth of Forth*, then must the City of *Edinburgh* prosper and never till then; especially since it is to continue the Seat of our *Ecclesiastick and Civil Judicatures*.

I wou'd not have you think, that *Edinburgh* will go to ruine by the want of our Parliament; for Experience may tell us, that it never was in better Circumstances, than when our Parliaments met but once in 5 or 6 Years, and never in worse, but since they met so frequently; for it is well known to many of the Burghers, that a Session is of more general Advantage, both to the City and the Country about, than a *Parliament*.

And pray, what Reason have you to think, that more of our People will live in *England* after the *Union*, than at this time; for that can never be, unless we shall suppose, there will be less Trade and Employment in *Scotland* after the *Union*



than at this time; for tho' it may happen that several now living in *Scotland* may go oftner to *England*, yet in their place several thousands of our Country-men now living in *England*, wou'd come down to us, if they but saw a Possibility of getting Bread.

If we wou'd reason justly upon this Head, we ought to reflect on the Condition of *Ireland*: For tho' their unhappy Circumstances in Point of Trade makes a scarcity of Money among them, and tho' by reason of their Subjection and entire Dependance on *England*, they have many Occasions for attending the Court; yet notwithstanding of these Discouragements, that *Nation* increaseth daily in People, and I am credibly informed, that its Capital City *Dublin* has almost doubled its Buildings and Inhabitants within these 50 Years. The true Reason of all this is partly, because *Ireland* is a plentiful Country, and partly because of their Trade and Shipping, which tho' much bounded and restricted by *England*, yet is vastly greater than ours.

You say, What Encouragement will Trades-men have here, when after the *Union* nothing but what is *English* will please us? But I am much perswaded, that the *Union* will have a quite contrary effect: For with greater probability it may be thought, that the foolish unreasonable Edge of desiring Foreign Things will fall between us and *England*, since after the *Union* we come to be one Kingdom and one People, and by consequence will have all sorts of things made as well amongst our selves as at *London*: So that in that Case there will be no more difference made between our Workmen and these of *England*, than there is between these of *Newcastle* and these of *London*.

You'll never observe at *London*, *Scots-men's* Work discredited because of their Country; yet here amongst our selves some think they can do nothing right, which is either an ill ground.

grounded Opinion, or if true, we occasion it our selves by discouraging them so much. But after the *Union*, when we fall into more Business, there will be an Intercourse of Workmen as well as other things, which will be found to tend both for the Honour and Improvement of these who now live amongst us: So that there can never ensue any Depopulation on that account.

Neither does it hold, that Countries and Cities lying at a distance from the Seat of Government, are poor and miserable; for if these Countries or Cities have a Subject of Trade with the Conveniences of Firths, Bays and Harbours, they must thrive in spite of all Discouragements: An Instance whereof we have of the Cities of *Marseilles* and *Thoulon*, which tho' they lie in a very bad Country, for its Tyrannical Despotick Government, and are distant near 500 Miles from the Seat of Government; yet being possessed of the above mentioned Conveniences, they enjoy more Shipping and Trade, and perhaps more Riches than all *Scotland*.

I never heard any deny but *Britain* by this *Union* wou'd vastly increase in People; How then can it be possible, that *Scotland* shall be depopulated? For since it must be acknowledged by all, that our Fishings, Linnen Manufactures, Black Cattle, Lead, Coals and Corn, will afford a very great Subject of Trade, it's impossible to conceive, that we shall desert these Advantages, and leave our Country desolate to inhabit another, where we cannot expect to find Employment.

What if *England* by this *Union* should in time double its Inhabitants? yet in regard their Ground cou'd not maintain them, there wou'd be great Demands upon all the Product of *Scotland*; so that our Lands wou'd be so far from falling in their Rents, that they must rise: And this Rule will hold true for ever, That the Rents of a Country must rise in Proportion to the Increase of its People and Business: So that if

the People of *Scotland* encrease, the Rents must improve through the whole Country ; but here you'll say, lyes the Difficulty, which you will be the easier solved of, in considering the Answer I shall give you to what follows.

Your 7<sup>th</sup>. Objection is, That you have not Faith enough to believe, that any greater Proportion of Trade will ensue to *Scotland* after the *Union*, than we enjoy at present : And that tho' you have heard of some general things as to our Advancement that way, yet you want to be informed of the Particulars.

You know I was never bred a Merchant, nor do I pretend to demonstrate all our Advantages in that Matter, therefore I shall only give you a hint of such Things that do occur to me.

By this *Union* then, we are privileged to import into *England* our Black Cattel, and Linnen Cloth, which if the *Union* does not succeed, will either be Prohibited, or be a very precarious Trade; and these two Branches of our Product have yielded to us, and will continue to bring us in, upwards of 130000 *l. Sterling* yearly.

By this *Union*, we have Liberty to carry our Linnen directly to the Plantations ; which besides other Advantages, will serve to keep in a vast Sum, which we now send out to bring us in Tobacco.

We have likewise all Duties taken off our Linnen, when imported into *England*, which will save us near 30000 *l. sterl.* Yearly.

Our Coals will likewise bring us in a considerable Sum, and be of great Advantage to all In-land Coal Masters.

All our Course Manufactures will yield us considerable Profit in the *West-Indies*.

All sorts of Grain, by Reason of the present *English* Drawbacks, and other Encouragements that will ( I hope ) be given

given, will both bring us in Money, and keep a good Medium in this Country. between Scarcity and too great Plenty.

Many other things I cou'd mention, but shall insist upon our Fishings, and shew you, That an Improvement that way will not depend upon a bare Possibility and a *may be*: but must as certainly be, as it's certain a knowing understanding Merchant must follow out that, which is most for his Advantage.

All our Projects about Fishings, have several ways Miscarried, but chiefly because we wanted Stocks sufficient enough to set about such Undertakings; for in Fishing to any purpose for the Advantage of our selves, or our Country, we must be satisfied with a very small Gain, such as 5 or 6 *per Cent.* which can never succeed well amongst those that Fish with small Stocks.

For instance, a Man that has a Stock of 20000 Merks, if he sets about Fishing, and will be satisfied with the *Dutch Profit*; 6 *per Cent.* then he makes yearly 1200 Merks, with which he gets a Subsistence for his Family; but a Man that has only 10000 Merks, must by *Hook & Crook*, as we say, make 12 *per Cent.* or else he cannot live: This is only to show you, That without great Stocks, we can signify little to set up such a Fishing Trade, as will be of any Advantage to the Kingdom; and since we have not such, we must seek the Assistance of our Neighbours, who upon the event of an *Union*, both will, and must set about it, to save vast Sums of Money, which at present they yearly are obliged to carry in to *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, to purchase what is necessary for them of the Product of these Countries.

Now to demonstrate to you, what Advantages this will be to *Scotland*, I shall take it at its worst View; And I do assert, That if *England* should set about a Herring Fishing, *Scotland* should gain extreamly by it, tho' there was not one *Scots* Man employed in the undertaking.

To prove this, I shall suppose, that some *English* Merchants in *London* should join in setting up this Trade, and for that end should build 300 Herring Bushes in the *Thames*, a greater or lesser Number: These being Equipt with *English* Sailers, and all Materials necessary for Fishing are sent down to the Coast of *Scotland*: And after they have taken as many Last of Herrings as possible they can, they carry them to the usual Mercats, in *Poland*, *Sweden* and *Denmark*; and having Sold them, they purchase chiefly Masts, Planks, Dails, and Iron, with other Materials for Shipping. Now, it is certain, that these bulky Goods can never be returned to *England* in any other but Ships of Burden; therefore these Bushes cannot go back to the *Thames* again, but must for ever remain in *Scotland*. For to what purpose shall we imagine, that their Owners will bring them to *England*, through all the Hazards of a long Voyage, and send them back yearly to the Fishing, when with as much Safety, less Trouble, and perhaps less Expence, they may remain constantly in *Scotland*?

Which if they do, very considerable Sums will be yearly sent down for their Maintainance, besides the building of Harbours, and perhaps of Villages for their Convenience: Now, if such Advantages will accrue to us, tho' we have no Concernment in that Trade, what will we not gain, when our Merchants and Seamen shall be joined with the *English* for promotting such a National Advantage?

There needs be no such Objections made here, as, *How are we sure the English will help us in our Fishing? And why did they not do it before, since they were both in Liberty and Safety?* For they must do it, as I told you already, to save the Export of their Money, and to make an easy Purchase of all the Product of the Northern Kingdoms.

The

The *Hollanders* Fish yearly upon our Seas Herrings to the value of a Million *Sterling* and above, which furnishes them with all their Materials for Shipping, Corns, and other Necessaries; so that for a little Labour, they enjoy what costs *England* infinite Sums; wherefore we may easily see a Necessity for them to fall into that Trade: And tho' the *Hollanders* have gotten the start, and are now in a Condition to Fish cheap, yet a few Years will enable the Island of *Britain*, to Fish to better Advantage, and so by degrees enhance that valuable Treasure.

The Reasons why the *English* did not attempt this Herring Fishing before, are very obvious, for they know it cou'd never be done to any Advantage, if they did not join with the *Scots* in it, since the *Hollanders* were before hand with them; and if they joined with us, their Stocks wou'd always be in Danger, so long as we continued a separate People, and under distinct Governments, but a happy *Union* must necessarily alter the Case, and remove all Jealousies from among us.

Besides this sort of Fishing, there are others which will deserve Encouragement: As likewise many smaller Branches of our Product, which ly now neglected because we want Stocks, Hearts, and Hands to set about them. But after the *Union*, we have all the Reason in the World to believe, that since the improving of *Scotland*, will both tend to the Honour and Interest of *Great Britain*, there will not be wanting what ever shall be thought Necessary for that end; So that, with many solid Reasons, we may conclude, That by this *Union*, the Inhabitants of *Scotland* will be encreased, both in City and Country, and by consequence, there will arise a proportionable improvement of our Rents.

Your 8<sup>th</sup>. Objection is upon the Burden of the *English* Excises, that shall take place after the *Union*.

I know there were great Endeavours used by the *Scots Commissioners* at London: For clearing this Matter, so as the  
*Scots*

*Scots Tippony Ale* might be reckoned as small Beer, and pay the Excise accordingly, but all to no purpose. I wish with all my Heart, that had been granted; not so much that I apprehend it will be an unsupportable Burden to us: but because it wou'd have calmed our Jealousies and Fears, and given a more peaceable and chearful beginning to an *Union*.

However, I doubt not to make it evident, that this Matter is not so terrible as appears to many, who are not acquainted with the *English Methods* of paying Excise, nor with the Eases that are given in Collecting it.

The Excise of strong Bear and Ale in *England*, is 4*s.* & 9*d.* *sterl.*; the Barrel, which consists of 34 *English Gallons*; and this Barrel runs between 94 and 98 *Scots Pints*, according to the most exact Computations that ever were made of it.

All Beer and Ale brown above the value of 6*s.* the Barrel, pays this Excise in *England*, so that our *Tippony Ale* seems to fall under that Denomination and Regulations.

That which is called small Beer and Ale in *England*, and is in my Opinion, as good as our *Tippony Ale*, pays only 15 Pence the Barrel.

I have given you the full extent of the *English Excises*, which tho' their Brewers do not consider as intolerable Exactions; yet for their own ease and profit they commonly elude them by brewing a small Quantity of very strong Beer, and mixing it up to a greater Quantity of a smaller sort, having paid the Excise before the Mixture. But I shall not insist on that Method, tho' I'm convinced if it was used in *Scotland*, our Ale should fall no dearer after the *Union* than it is at this time.

I know some People have industriously spread about, That after the *Union*, our Ale which now gives 2*sh.* *Scots* the Pint, will then give Six-pence or a Groat at least; so 'tis no great wonder to hear such Murmurings amongst People, when they

they are misled by Lies and Misrepresentations. But to show you how little reason there is for such Out-cries, I shall take this Excise at its worst View, and demonstrate, That tho the *English* wou'd make us pay the great Excise of 4 *sh.* and 9 *d.* the Barrel for our Two-pence Ale; yet after the Union it will be sold with all the ordinary Profits to the Brewers and Retailers, for 2 *sh.* and 4 *d. Scots* at most.

In the first place then you must know, That by Act of Parliament there are allowed over all *England* 2 Barrels in 23, which gives a considerable ease, *viz.* of 9 *sh.* and 6 *d. sterl.* in that Quantity.

Next, Tho we should compute 94 *Scots* Pints only to be in an *English* Barrel, which is the lowest Computation that has been made; yet even in that Case, our Pint will be burthened at most but with 8 Pennies *Scots*: And from this we may easily consider, what the price of each Pint will come to.

The common Rate of the Pint of Tippony Ale is now computed after this manner: 1 *sh. Scots* for the Malt, 2 pennies for the Fire, and 2 pennies for the Brewer's Labour, in all 16 pennies *Scots*; and if the Brewer pay the Excise of 3 pennies on the Pint, as is settled by our Law, then he is obliged to take from the Retailers about 18 or 20 Pennies for the Pint. This Ale afterwards, by reason of the Profit the Retailer must have, comes to be Sold for 22 pennies, or *Tippons* at most.

You see here, that the Brewer values his Ale only at 16 pennies, before he pays the Excise; Now, the *Scots* Excise falling after the *Union*, there must be payed by him the 8 pennies on the Pint, which is the *English* Excise; So that he cannot afford his Ale to the Retailers under *Tippons*, and the Retailers, because they must have some Profit, cannot sell it under 2 *s.* and 2 *d. Scots*, or *Tippons* and a Plack at the



very outmost; So that you may observe, that all the Melancholy Accounts that have been given of this Affair, come to be very ill Grounded, when the Matter is fully considered.

Have we not had Annexed and Additional Excises upon our Ale to 5 pennies in the Pint? and over and above all that, an Allowance of 2 pennies more to some of our chief Burrows; so that the Excise in these Places, amounted to 7 pennies *Scots*: Do we then conclude, that the *English* Excise of 8 pennies will entirely ruin us, when our Trade and Business shall be encreased, and consequently our Money a great deal more plentiful than at this time?

Let us likewise consider, that the Excises of *England* are Collected with the same Eases as they are in *Scotland*, and not at all exacted according to the Rigour of the Law. As likewise, that their Country Brewers are not abused by the Excise-men; for the Neighbour Gentlemen who are Justices of Peace, Judge and Determine in all their Differences, which after the *Union*, by an express Article in the Treaty, will be done by our own Court of Exchequer, who cannot be supposed to Treat us with Rigour in a Matter of this kind.

Yet notwithstanding of all I have said, it must be acknowledged, it will be a Burden both upon the *Heretors*, & the *Brewers*: but not so great as was pretended; and the less still, that we hope such Encouragements will be given by way of Draw-back upon the exporting of our Grains, that they cannot ly as a Drug upon our Hands. However, I am still in hopes, that after the *Union*, all our Tipponie Ale will be computed only as small Beer, and consequently will pay only 15 Pence the Barrel, which will be 12 Pence cheaper than now.

Your 6th. Objection is, That our being lyable to equal Customs with the *English*, will be a heavy Burden to *Scotland*.

In Answer to which, I desire you to take notice, That the Customs affect nothing but Foreign Goods & Luxury, and that all the Product of *Britain* will be free to the Inhabitants, of any Imposition whatsoever; so that, if we design to satisfy our selves as to our Meat, Drink, Furniture, and Apparel, with such things as are of the Product of *Great Britain*, then we shall not be sensible of what you call a heavy burden; but if there are any amongst us, who must have these Foreign Materials of Luxury, I hope they will prove to be Persons of considerable Wealth, and so ought in Reason to pay Dear for their Extravagancies.

I grant we want necessarily somethings from abroad, for which we must pay dearer Customs after the *Union*, than we do at present, such as, *Iron, Lint-seed, Hemp, Sugar, Tobacco Tar, Pitch, Cotton, Copper, Masts, Dails, Planks*, and some other things perhaps not absolutely necessary, but even the Duties of these have been most unfairly represented to the Nation, by reason of gross Mistakes, as to the *English* Rates, which were afterwards acknowledged.

However, we see a Pamphlet spread about within these two or three Days, making a Comparison between the *Scots* and *English* Customs, wherein, tho' the Author has acted a better part than many others, yet he is not without Partiality in some of his Accompts; and in others, especially that of the Equivalent, entirely mistaken. I shall only take notice here of the Duties he makes of *Iron* and *Lint-seed*, as being these which make the greatest noise.

That of *Iron* in *Scotland*, he makes to be 10 *sh. sterl.* and 4 *d.* the Tun, and in *England*, 1 *l.* 17 *s.* *sterl.* I cannot disprove the thing, and yet it needs create very little Trouble. For First, After the *Union* we may have *Iron* free of Duty from the *English* Mines, if we please. And in the next place, admitting we should pay 1 *l.* 6 *s.* *sterl.* and 8 *d.* more for the

Tun of *Iron* after the *Union* than at present ; yet 'tis certain, this wou'd be no great Burden, since all *Scotland* does not consume yearly above 450 Tuns at 2000 *l.* Weight the Tun.

The Duty of a Hogshead of Lint seed in *Scotland*, is, 1 *sterl.* and 8 *d.* and in *England* he makes it 4 *sterl.* which by the by, is a Mistake in 2 *sterl.* and yet 6 *sterl.* lower than it was called at first ; but admitting it was 4 *sterl.* the Hogshead. I cannot see how it cou'd discourage our Linnen Manufactures, since after the *Union* they will enjoy what will be of greater Advantage to them, than that Duty can be of Loits, *viz.* The Duties taken off their Linnen, when carried into *England*.

But you cannot expect that Men will be juster to the Nation, than they are to *GOD Almighty* ; for we commonly Repine for what we want, but are seldom or never Thankful for what we have ; nor do we ballance our Losses on way by our Profits another.

As for the Duties of all the other above-mentioned Foreign necessaries, I own that some of them will prove greater than now : And 'tis very plain, that some of them will be Cheaper, such as Tobacco, Sugar and Tar : But in short, as to all Customs whatsoever, I give you the following two Particulars to consider upon, That you may form just Notions of the Customs in General, before you descend into particulars.

1<sup>mo</sup>. That tho' the Customs in the *English* Book of Rates, are valued at the highest, yet they are exacted like our own, with very considerable Eases to the Merchants, such as, particularly a Discount of 10 *per Cent.* upon all punctual Payments and ready Money and 15 *per Cent.* as a Discount upon ready payments of the Duties on Salt.

2<sup>do</sup>. That tho' the Customs were never so great and rigorously exacted in *England*, yet if *Scotland* design to Unite with that Kingdom, either by an *Incorporating* or *Federal Union*, we must resolve to pay equally with them all Burdens that do, or may affect Trade. For the natural preliminary

nary of a happy Union, is Equality in all Duties that may influence Trade ; so that one Kingdom may not undersel and ruin another. And 'tis to no purpose to enquire, for what Reasons and Causes these Burdens are laid on, since 'tis certain they must be paid equally by all : But I shall trouble you no more of this, till I fall upon answering your Difficulties as to the *Equivalent*.

Your 9th Objection is upon the *Equivalent*, wherein you frame the following Queries and Difficulties, which I shall answer in their order.

Q. 1mo. You ask me, *Why are we engaged to pay our part of the English Debts, since that seems to be a piece of Injustice to Scotland ?*

R. There is an absolute necessity for this, because if we unite, and have a Communication with the *English* in their Trade, we must (as I have said already) pay equal Duties and Customs with them ; now many of these Duties and Customs are imposed for Payment of the *English* Debts, whereby the paying of their Debts and the paying of their Customs come to be inseparable. And this is so necessary, that tho' a Federal Union were practicable, and we were to unite in such ; yet there wou'd be a necessity to pay our Proportion of their Debts by the same Rule, that we were to pay their Customs : But how can we suffer any more by this than you wou'd do, if I should desire you to pay a hundred Pounds of my Debt, providing I gave you first the Money to pay it with ? The Case is the same, with respect to the *Equivalent* and the *English* Debts, since all the Sums we pay for that end will either be advanced to us or repaid.

Q. 2. *Why then is not the Equivalent given to the Merchants and these other Persons who pay these Duties ?*

R. The *Equivalent* is given to *Scotland*, but cannot be given to these who pay the Duties, for that wou'd be the taking with one hand and giving with another, whereby there  
wou'd

wou'd ensue a prodigious Inequality between the *Scots* and *English* Traders : For Instance, If a Wine-Merchant in *Scotland* should pay *English* Duty upon the Wine, but immediately thereafter have the same returned back to him again, then 'tis plain, that the Wine-Merchants in *Scotland* wou'd ruin all these in *England*, and the same will hold with respect to all other Merchandize.

Q: 3tio. *Why is the Equivalent that is mentioned in the Minutes, viz. 398085 lib: 10 sh. Sterl. so much valued, since we are to pay it back again for the Debts of England in a Term of Years.*

R. We are to have this Equivalent not as the Price of Selling our Country, as some maliciously say, but upon a very just and honourable Reason, *viz.* Because it is to be paid back again in a Term of Years for the *English* Debts: And we ought to value it, because it is a Loan for setting us up to Trade, which I doubt extremely could be raised upon any Act of Parliament in *Scotland*, there being scarce the third of that Sum in the whole Nation. And, pray tell me, If you were a Merchant, and were a little decayed as to your Stock, wou'd you not think your self obliged to any Man that wou'd give you Money to set up with; and could you take it ill, if you was to pay back the Money in the space of 15 Years? I believe, every Body would think the Lender did you a kindness, and I think you'll not discern any Disparity in thir two Cases.

Q: 4. *How are we sure to get this Equivalent?*

R; Very sure, since the Publick Faith of *England* will be deeper engaged by a solemn Treaty, than by any Act of Parliament: Now it's certain, that *England* must be very nice as to its Credit; for if ever it should lose that Reputation, which it has gained, that Nation would be ruined for ever; but we have a sufficient proof of their Publick Faith, since there's never a Man in *England* but would rather lend his Money

Money to the Publick than to any private Persons, tho upon the best Security; no Nation in the World being more just and punctual in their Payments than they.

Q: 5to. *Will that Equivalent be sent down to Scotland in specie?*

R Perhaps not in Carts indeed, tho if we have a mind, we may get it even that way; but suppose a part of it should be remitted by Bills, and a part sent down in *specie*; Yet that will not alter the Case: For perhaps some Merchants here will desire some part of that Money to be paid to them at *London*.

Q: 6to. *Will not People who are to get their Shares of that money, be cheated by the Commissioners, who by the Treaty are to dispose of it here?*

R. 'Tis very improbable they shall, since it will be the Honour and Interest of the Parliament of *Great-Britain* to see that Money paid honestly in to these who have Right thereto, by reason of their being concerned in the *Scots Publick Debts* or *African Company*.

Q: 7mo. *Will we get no other Recompense for engaging in our proportionable Burden of the English Debt, except that Sum of 398085 lib. 10 sh. Sterl. since we may chance to pay a greater Proportion of these Debts, than is calculated, when our Customs and Excises shall encrease?*

R. The Equivalent is calculated upon the Proportion we pay of our present Customs, and excises towards the *English Debts*; but if these triple, as I have good reason to believe they will, upon account of our entering under the *English Customs*, then the Equivalent will be in proportion to their Rise, and consequently worth in Value about 1194256 lib. 10 sh. *Sterlin*; and when the Salt-Duties take place, or if our Customs and Excises should be quadrupled or more, then the Equivalent would be vastly greater.

Q: 8vo.

*Q. 8vo. Since many of these Equivalents will fall to be paid after the Union, how can we expect Justice, when the Parliament of Britain will be both Judge and Party?*

*R.* That's very easy both in the Conception and in the Practice; for the Parliament of Britain has no more to do but to order these Equivalents to be spent within Scotland, for maintaining the Poor, Building of Haybours and Docks, encouraging of Manufactures and Fishings, Building of Towns, Churches, or any other Publick Works; and we may the easier conceive this very practicable, since the setting about these Publick Works will redound to the Benefit, Interest and Honour of the whole Island; but Scotland in particular will reap the Advantage, since that Money is to be spent amongst our selves, which is all we ought to project.

*Q. 9no. What is the reason that some People gave out a few weeks ago, that there were gross mistakes in the Calculation of the Equivalent?*

*R.* No Body can be answerable for faults in the Printing or Transcribing the Minutes of the Treaty, but when the principal Calcul that was adjusted at London, comes to be produced, all Difficulties of that sort will be cleared:

*Q. 10mo. What is the Reason, that the Scots Commissioners for the Union did not foresee, That the Equivalent of 398088 l. 10 sh: Sterlin will be exhausted in Payments for the English Debts in the space of eleven Years or thereby, as seems to be agreed by two late Pamphlets.*

*R.* These two Pamphlets run upon a very obvious mistake, for they suppose, that we are to pay Yearly towards the Debts of England 44697 Pounds Sterlin, which wou'd indeed exhaust the Equivalent in eleven Years. But these Gentlemen who made that Calcul, did not take notice, that Scotland was to pay that Sum only till September 1710, for after that time we are to pay only about 22716 Pounds; so that there

there will sink 21981 Pounds in *Scotland*, and in *England* 982846, that is some more than two Parts of three of all the Customs in *Britain*, in regard that the Debts for which they are appropriated will be paid. But if it should happen, that some of these Debts should still remain unpaid after *September 1710*, and that the *Parliament of Great-Britain* should be obliged by new Acts to continue any of these Customs, for completing their Payment; in that Case *Scotland* is to have an Equivalent for paying their Proportion of these Debts, as is expressly stipulated by the Treaty.

Q. II. *What Advantage will arise to Scotland from the Equivalents to be paid after the Union, since they seem to be but our own Money given back?*

R. I grant that these Equivalents are our own Money, as you say; but I would have you to consider, that the greatest part of the Money in *Scotland* after the *Union* will arise from the *Union* it self, viz. by a Communication of Trade, and from a Loan (as you call it) of 398085 lib: 10 sh: *Sterlin*, for a Term of Years, which is given chiefly to set us to Business.

I would have you likewise to consider, that it will be a vast Advantage to *Scotland*, that we are to keep our Money amongst us after the *Union*, and that it is not all called in to the Publick Treasury of *Great Britain*, especially since even without an *Union*, it is in Her Majesty's Power to send for all the Money that arises from the Customs and Excises in *Scotland*, and employ them in *England* as she pleases; for by our Law both the Customs and the Excises of *Scotland* are annexed to the Crown, and may be disposed by our Sovereigns at their pleasure.

Wherefore these Equivalents will be very valuable to us, tho' they have their Rise from our own Money.

Now I have answered all your *Queries*: But before I leave the Subject, I shall give you the true *Anatomy of the Equivalent*



to be given to *Scotland* after the Union; which in short comes to this, That whatever Duties are applied by the *English* for payment of their Debts, the same will be applied among us for the Improvement of *Scotland*: For tho' all the *Equivalents* were spent upon levelling our Mountains and other as ridiculous Works, yet being spent among our selves, they answer their chief Design; and many thousands of poor People, Work-men and Trades-men, will thereby get Employments: So that *Scotland* and *England* as to this Matter may be compared to two Men that have considerable Estates, but the one far greater than the other; and let me suppose them to have their Rents equally well paid, yet there will be this Difference between the two, that the one who has the great Estate, has a great deal of Debt, and so, most of his Rents will go for payment of his Debts; but the other who has the lesser Estate, has no Debt, so that his Rents go to the Improvement of his Fortune.

I shall not trouble you much more with the *Equivalents*, but do intreat you to consider the Minutes of the *Treaty*, and the *English* Acts of Parliaments imposing the several Duties, Customs and Excises, whereby you'll be in a condition either to answer your own Scruples, or upon better Reasons to form other new Difficulties: And so I'll proceed to your 11th Objection against the Articles of the *Treaty*.

Your 11th Objection is *upon the Duties of Salt*.

I cannot deny but these Duties will fall to be heavier after the Union than at this time, tho they will be very far from producing such a Sum as is generally pretended, which we may very easily guess at by what these Duties produce yearly in *England*, which is not 190000: Now let us consider, that *Scotland* contains scarce a 6th part of the People of *England*, and that after the Union we shall not have such Fleets of Ships to Victual with Salt Provisions, as the *English* have at  
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this time : So consequently we cannot well reckon, that the Duties of Salt in *Scotland* will amount to above a tenth of what is consumed in *England* at this present time, which will fall to be about 19500 Pounds yearly.

But suppose our Proportion should be much greater, yet *Scotland* can sustain no loss by these Duties, since they are mostly appropriated for payment of the Debts of *England* contracted before the Union, and consequently that we shall get an Equivalent for them, or rather retain them still in *Scotland*.

I say, we may retain them still in *Scotland*, and the same of all other Duties appropriated for the Debts of *England*, since 'tis to no purpose to think, we shall after the Union send up what we are immediately to get returned as the Equivalent ; for it is sufficient that these Duties be raised upon the People, tho they be not sent away to *England*, because that answers exactly the design of paying equal Burdens in both Kingdoms, viz. that no Part of *Britain* may undersel another.

But whether the Money be sent away to come back to us again under the name of an Equivalent, or whether it be kept in our Treasury of the Equivalents amongst our selves, is just one and the same thing both to us and the *English*, providing the thing be done.

This being the Case, that most of all these Duties will remain amongst our selves, private Persons who pay these, may be a little burdened, yet *Scotland* can never suffer, but on the contrary rather gain, since the Duties arising from Salt, as well as all other Duties appropriated for the Debts of *England*, will be spent among us on some publick Works for the Improvement of *Scotland*.

I would have you likewise to consider, That since by the Treaty there is an Exemption given to us for 7 years from

the Duties on Salt, there will be both in that time and after, great Demands upon that Subject, very much to the Advantage of the Salt-Masters, when by a happy Union the Inhabitants of this Kingdom must encrease; which I have already endeavoured to show, as the undoubted Consequence of Trade and Business.

'Tis true, that after the *Union* we are by the *Treaty* debarred for the space of 7 Years to Victual Ships with Provisions salted with our own Salt; but the Reason is evident, because we are exempted from the Duties on our Salt for that time; and if so, then a very great Inequality would ensue between the Ships of both Kingdoms in Point of Trade, since thereby we might provide all Ships with Salted Meat more than a half cheaper than the *English*, and so be able to undersel them in their Trade.

And tho' our Salt-works seem to lie under another Discouragement, that by our own Acts of Parliament as well as by the *Treaty*, all Fish exported must be cured with Foreign Salt; yet I hope this may tend to the Advantage of *Scotland*, by the Reputation our Fishes will have Abroad: And in the mean time I doubt not but our Salt-Masters will fall upon methods of improving their Salt, since many People think it might be brought to as great Perfection as that of *France* or *Spain*, which if found out, wou'd prove an Additional Stock of Riches to this Kingdom.

Your 12th Objection is, That the Duties upon Malt will be very burdensome to us, when they take place in *Scotland*.

We are exempted from these Duties by the *Treaty*, in so far as they affect *England* by any Act of Parliament now in force: And it is to be remembred, that these Duties are continued only from Year to Year in *England*, and go for supporting of the War; and likewise that when they take place in *Scotland*, they may well affect private Persons, but can  
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bring no hurt to the Kingdom, since the Sums arising from these Duties, as well as from all others, are to be kept amongst our selves for Seven Years, by an exprefs Agreement in the Treaty; and in that time, I hope, the War will be over, and that their will never afterwards be any use for these Duties.

Your 13<sup>th</sup>. Objection is upon the Difficulties and Scruples which some Merchants make on the Treaty, as that there is not sufficient time allowed to them to purchase such parts of their Ships that belong to Foreigners: That the Draw-back upon Herring, is not sufficient, and that there are no Draw-backs expressely agreed to for encouraging the Export of our rough Bear, Pease, Oats and Meal.

In Answer to all this I shall say very little, only if when they come to be Discoursed on in the *Parliament*, it shall necessarily appear, that there should be any Rectifications or Additional Articles on these; I make no doubt, but all the *Members of Parliament* will most heartily agree to them: And that the *Commissioners of the Treaty* will be so far from pretending to Infallibility, that they will as heartily acknowledge their Escapes, which may the more easily be forgiven, that they had many things to think on, were straitned in time, lived upon their own Expences, and perhaps were working (as some of them feared) to unthankful Masters, in case their friendly Endeavours for their Country's Service should chance to be Misconstructed.

Your 14<sup>th</sup>. and last Objection is, That you fear the Articles will not be kept to *Scotland*.

This Objection seems contrary to all that preceed, for if there be so many ill things agreed for *Scotland*, as your former Objections wou'd insinuate, I think it wou'd be for our Advantage they were not kept, but upon a Supposition, that all the

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Articles of the Treaty, are for our Advantage : I say, in all human Probability, they must be kept for these Reasons.

1<sup>mo</sup>. Because it will be for the Interest of both Kingdoms, that these Articles should be kept.

For 'tis Certain, that the Island of *Britain* can never be so Rich, Powerful, and Populous, when separated, as when United.

2<sup>do</sup>. The Articles are Calculated upon great Equality, for both the Nations will Gain, and none of them Suffer.

3<sup>tio</sup>. *Honour and Reputation*, to which I shall add *Fear and Awe* must always keep us united; for it is meerly impossible that the two Kingdoms can break, when united and tyed in Allegiance under one Sovereign, without bringing Ruin and Confusion to both by their Divisions.

Having Answered your Difficulties, as to the Treaty, I shall now give you some Observations upon Mr. *H.* and Mr. *R.* writings against it, for I believe it will not be worth the while to Answer their Principal Objections, since that were only to repeat what I have already said.

Observe then in short, That most of all their Arguments against an *Incorporating Union*, strick at the Foundation of all *Unions* with *England* whatsoever.

That Mr. *H.* however well he has written against an *Incorporating Union*, yet he has been so Wise, as never to offer a Scheme of his Federal, for if he had done it, 'tis ten to one but it should be found either impracticable, or else (which is much the same thing) that the *English* will never agree to it.

That the same Author pretends in some places of his Book, That by the Providence of GOD, he has found out some wonderful Expedient to make us happy, even tho' an *Union* should not take : 'tis spoke very like a Quack Doctor on a Stage, and for that Reason will be much alike believed.

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In another place he runs down his Friends the *English*, as the most execrable People in the whole Earth, which is scarcely Civil, tho' done in a Pulpit, but most intolerable when done in Print.

I believe Mr. *H.* to be a very well meaning understanding Man, but how he comes in his Book to tell us, That all Members of Parliament take the Sacramental Test, is what passes my Comprehension, for I can scarce think he was Ignorant of the contrary.

But I shall not insist further on such like Remarks, for perhaps I am mistaken in the *Author*; therefore I'll proceed to shew you, upon what solid Reasons this Project of the *Union* is founded; and I hope that without Partiality or personal Prejudices, you will embrace that Opinion that will tend most to the Interest of this poor divided Nation.

I know, that many of this Kingdom have given Testimony of their dislike of the *Union*, by Addresses to the Parliament, and I know many of the Subscribers to be Persons of great Merit: However, I'm afraid that there has been too little Time taken to resolve upon a matter of such extraordinary Consequence, and that when this opportunity shall be lost, they may Repent at leisure what has been done in haste, and that our Posterity will be so far from admiring and applauding the Zeal of their Fathers in this Affair, that they will Curse these Divisions among us, that have entailed Poverty and Misery upon them, at a time when we might have conveyed to them all that Happiness, and these Blessings which must attend an entire *Union*.

The *Estates of Parliament* (in the mean time) have given a fresh Evidence of their Good-will towards an *Union* by their Vote of the 4<sup>th</sup>. of this instant, which was carried by a considerable Majority. This tho' it makes a considerable step, yet for accomplishing a happy *Union*, there's a Necessity it should be

be concluded with as much Unanimity as is possible, and that all the Articles be duely understood and considered.

Some People's Eyes are very quick to discover the Disadvantages that *the Articles of the Treaty* labour under, but are Blind to all the Advantages they bring us. Wherefore, that you may have these in your View, allow me briefly to sum them up.

*First* then, By this Treaty, we come to a Settlement of the Succession in the Protestant Line; but perhaps in the Opinion of some, this is the only Disadvantage in the whole Articles, tho' I hope these will be found very few.

*2do.* A Communication of Trade, which we have been striving for these Hundred Years.

*3tio.* The necessary requisite to set up our decayed Trade, viz. a Loan (if you please to call it so) of 398085 *l.* 10 *s.* *sterk.* to be repayed, not all at once, or when the *English* please, but in a Term of Years, during which time we may improve the Advantage of having so great a Stock amongst our Hands.

*4to.* A very easy Cess, in regard that in time of Peace we shall be free of any.

*5to.* We have the Advantage of Seven Years Allowance of all that shall arise out of our Cess, Customs, or Excises, to be kept and spent amongst our selves, within the Limits of *Scotland*; which Concession comes to be far more considerable than can be discovered at the first view: For tho' we pay our Proportion of the *English* Debts during that time, yet that is only by a certain *Fictio juris*, since we either get *per advance* these Sums which are to be paid that way, or are to get them returned to us, or retain them in our own hands; So that (properly speaking) we shall enjoy all the Benefits of Money and Stock for Seven Years, that Navigation, a Communication of Trade, and the Advantage of a Loan of Money can yield us, besides the Happiness of being Defended and

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Protected by the Armies and Fleets of South Britain, without being put to the Expence of one Sixpence.

6<sup>to</sup>. We shall (perhaps) be free for ever of some Duties that affect *England*, and of others for a Term of Years, for these are Allowances that the *English* may grant to us, as new beginners, without prejudice to their own Trade.

7<sup>mo</sup>. And Lastly, Tho' there was no Allowance given to the Commissioners of the Treaty to meddle with the *Presbyterian* Church Government; yet by this Union it will have such a Security as it never had, nor can ever have, except by being a fundamental Article of an Union.

All these Advantages *Scotland* may have, and yet the *Union* is concerted with so much Justice and Equality, that the *English* do not suffer, or at most, all they can pretend to lose, is the Duty upon *Scots Linnen*, and the Trouble of lending 398083 *l. 10s. sterl.* which upon the event will rather strengthen their hands, since thereby we'll be put in a Condition to assist them in all their Great and Glorious Undertakings for the Honour and Interest of *Britain*.

But if all these Advantages in the *Treaty* will not induce us to accept of the *Union*, because we are afraid to trust our own Judgments in this important Affair, then let us Consult with all *Europe*, if we please, and we'll find many of its Kingdoms and Estates in Terror, least this Matter succeed, and at the very utmost point of Despair, if it were not from the hopes they entertain, that it shall yet Miscarry.

Are we then the only Persons on Earth that are blind to our own Advantages? Or does our Stubborness proceed from any other Secret Springs and Causes? I have the Charity to believe otherways; but I wou'd not have us in this Affair to be Wiser than our Predecessors, for if we'll Consult the Acts of the *Meeting of Estates* at the late Revolution, we'll find, that that *Convention* which was esteemed the Voice and Soul of



the Nation, was so far from thinking this sort of *Union* a Prejudice to *Scotland*; that they no sooner had restored our Constitution by enacting a *Claim of Right*, but as a thing Consonant and agreeable thereto, they give Testimony of their Desire for an incorporating entire *Union, with a Witness*, when by their 26 Act, they named Commissioners to Treat this *Union*, and to that Act subjoined a Letter to King *William*, a Paragraph whereof, I shall give in their own Words, *We are most sensible of your Majesty's Kindness, and Fatherly Care to promote the Union, which we hope hath been reserved to be accomplished by you, that as both Kingdoms are united under one Head; so they may become one Body Politick, and one Nation to be Represented by one Parliament.* And you may take notice further, That they were so very fond of promoting an Union of this kind, that they add in their Letter, *And if any Difficulty happen in this Treaty, we refer the Determination thereof to your Majesty.*

You may observe here, whether or not an *Incorporating Union* be contrary to the *Claim of Right*, as some People pretend; and that when its sense and meaning is so much wrested contrary to the plain Design and Intention of those who enacted it, what Treatment may it not expect in time? For if you will duly consider all the several Articles thereof, you'll find; that notwithstanding of any *Union*, it must and always will continue to be *the Claim of Right of the People of Scotland* for ever.

But if the Sentiments of the Convention of Estates will have no weight with you, then take the trouble to look back upon the State of this Nation these hundred Years bygone, and you'll easily discover the pitiful Case of this Ancient & Independent Kingdom.

Have we not been Slaves to our own Factions and Divisions, and may not we justly represent some of the by-past  
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Circumstances of *Scotland*, in all the horrid shapes that Confusion it self can suggest: And which is worse, that in all probability they will continue the same to the end of the World, in the condition we now live in.

And if these Reflections on some of our past Misfortunes do not move us, then we need only cast our Thoughts upon our present Sufferings.

Amongst a thousand other Mischiefs, do not we see our nearest and dearest Relations with tears obliged to part with their Native Country through meer Necessity, and turn Slaves to Strangers for their Bread; and do not we see our Country-men at the Price of their Blood erecting Trophies of Victories to Foreigners, and yet *Scotland* is not allowed the least share in the Glory.

The meanness of our Circumstances has these 100 Years bygone obscured us from all the World; so that *Scotland* is scarce known to any except its own Inhabitants; or if it be, it is still under the Cover of *England*, from whence its Sovereignty and Independency cast but a very dim Light.

What is it then we contend so much about? For if we enjoyed the Happiness of a separate King as well as of being a separate Kingdom, we might then with greater reason oppose an Union with *England*: But as Matters now stand, there's nothing we should desire so much, especially seeing *England* is satisfied to consolidate its Sovereignty and Independency with ours, and out of both to make one Nation, more sublimely Sovereign and Independent, than what either of us could ever with Justice pretend to. By this Union, the *English* will be so far from pretending to any Dominion over us, that the Rulers of *Great-Britain* will be chosen indifferently from among us, and them, as our Sovereigns shall think fit, that so by a full Communication of Privileges all Jealousies and Fears, and all the fatal marks of Distinction that have been

been between *Scots* and *English*, will be extinguished for ever.

By this time I fear, I have wearied you with too long a Letter, but by much too short for the Subject: I have many things to add, but shall trouble you no further, hoping, that if what I have said, doth not entirely bring you over to the Union; yet at least you will be convinced, that there's no Court-Plot or Trick in it, as has been pretended, but a Project that will abide the Test of our Posterity, and get Approbation when the Zeal of some People against it shall be condemned, as what had riveted Misery by way of entail upon our Posterity, never again to be retrieved.

Edinburgh the 6th  
of November 1706.

I am Yours, &c.

## E R R A T A.

Pag. 8. l. 11. for your Enemies, *read*, our. p. 10. l. 7. for as. *r.* at. p. 15. l. 9. for full Members, *r.* full Numbers. p. 16. for Matters, *r.* Masters; and l. 6. for Pitchard, *r.* Pilchard. p. 23. l. 11. for know, *r.* knew. p. 26. l. 7. for that the Excises, *r.* so that, &c. *Ibid.* l. *penult.* for 6. *r.* 9. p. 29. l. 11. for 9th. *r.* 10th. p. 37. l. 8. for on, *r.* in.

